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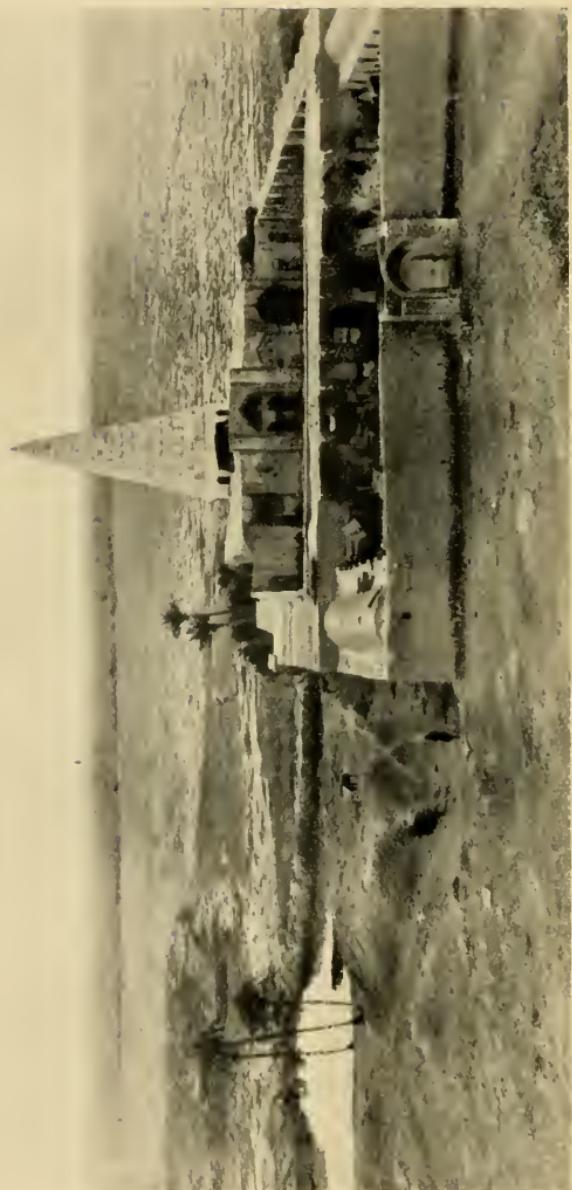
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THE TOMB OF DANIEL ON THE BANKS OF THE ULAI AS SEEN FROM THE MOUNDS OF SHUSHAN.





DADDA-'IDRI OR THE ARAMAIC OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

✓ BY

CHARLES BOUTFLOWER, M.A.

LATE VICAR OF TERLING, ESSEX

AUTHOR OF "IN AND AROUND THE BOOK OF DANIEL," AND OF "THE BOOK OF ISAIAH (CHAPTERS I-XXXIX) IN THE LIGHT OF THE ASSYRIAN MONUMENTS"

"Let not the Aramaic be lightly esteemed by thee, seeing that the Holy One (blessed be He !) has given honour to it in the Pentateuch (*Gen. xxxi. 47*), in the Prophets (*Jer. x. 11*), and in the Hagiographa (*Dan. ii. 4*)."
Jerusalem Talmud (Sotah vii. 2).

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PREFACE

The Author hopes that this treatise may be of use to many persons who possess only an elementary knowledge of Hebrew, as well as to more advanced students ; hence the frequent references to Francis Browne's Hebrew Lexicon. He also wishes to call especial attention to the important epigraphic feature discussed in Note II., which has a very distinct bearing on the age of the Book of Daniel.

DADDA-'IDRI

OR

THE ARAMAIC OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

THE problem of Biblical Aramaic has of late years awakened great interest. The dialect which meets us in the Book of Daniel in all its purity, and in a less pure form in the Book of Ezra, has justly been deemed worthy of close investigation, seeing that it has a bearing on the age of those Sacred Books, and on the light in which we must regard them. Accordingly, scholars have taken great pains to show that the rendering of the original *dh* sound by *d* rather than by *z*, which forms so striking a characteristic of the Aramaic of Daniel and is so consistently maintained throughout that Book, can only be looked upon as a proof of its late authorship.* The evidence brought forward in support of this conclusion is at first sight very strong. It runs thus :—

In the more ancient Aramaic inscriptions, viz. those from Zinjirli, Hamath, and Nerab, ranging from the second decade of the eighth down into the sixth century B.C., and also in the Aramaic dockets on business tablets from Assyria and Babylonia, ranging from the end of the eighth down into the fifth century B.C., as well as on the Teima Stone, which on epigraphic grounds may be assigned to the end of the sixth or the first half of the fifth century B.C., we meet with *z* only. But when we come to the dated papyri from Elephantine, which practically extend over the fifth century B.C., and to other undated papyri found with them

* G. B. Driver, *The Aramaic of the Book of Daniel* : Journal of Biblical Literature, vol. xlv (1926), pp. 110–119 ; and H. H. Rowley, *The Aramaic of the Old Testament*, Oxford University Press (1928).

and judged to belong to the latter half of the same period, the *d* makes its appearance, and—so it is said—with increasing frequency, and hence that period, we are told, must be looked upon as a “period of transition.” *

My object in this essay is to show that a dental dialect most certainly existed in the Old Aramaic, and that the papyri from Elephantine, so far from exhibiting the sibilant dialect as giving place to the dental, rather exhibit the dental dialect as affected by the sibilant in a mixed community, drawn from various quarters, such as the Jewish garrison at Elephantine. I shall also endeavour to show, that the difference in dialect is due to locality and contact, rather than to the age of the inscriptions and documents; and in doing this I shall call attention to evidence deducible from the cognate languages of South Arabia and Abyssinia.

Let me, then, observe at the outset, that there is one argument which those who take an opposite view have failed to meet, viz. the fact that in the Assyrian records of the ninth century B.C., dealing with the campaigns of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.), the name of the Syrian king, Hadadezer II, the Benhadad of I Kings xx., is spelt in the cuneiform *Dadda-id-ri* and *Dadda-'-id-ri*, in either case with a *d* in the latter component instead of a *z*. As a possible explanation of this seemingly strange phenomenon G. B. Driver suggests that the Hebrew root *zy*, not being found in Assyrian, and *izri* sounding very like *izru*, the Assyrian for “a curse,” the scribes of Shalmaneser preferred to change *izri* into *itri* on the analogy of their own *eṭir* “saved.” Now it is quite true that the cuneiform characters, read as *id-ri*, can also be read *it-ri*, the same character standing for *id* and *it*; but that the Assyrian scribes should deliberately change the sibilant *z* into the dental *t* is most unlikely. However, proof can be brought to show that the Assyrians were not troubled with any such qualms as Driver suggests, for when they had to deal with

* Rowley, pp. 19, 25.

the name of Azariah, king of Judah, which contains the same root, יְהִי, they wrote it *Az-ri-ia-u*, or *Iz-ri-ia-u*, with a *z* and not with a *d*, following the Hebrew pronunciation of the name. In just the same way, I imagine, *Dadda-id-ri*, or *Dadda-'id-ri*, was written down just as it was heard spoken at Damascus.*

It is still urged, however, that this single name, *Dadda-idri*, is but slender evidence on which to build up a theory as to early Aramaic orthography in the ninth century B.C.† But when we search further, the evidence is found to be by no means so slender as was at first supposed. In *An Assyrian Doomsday Book*, written by that great authority on the contract tablets, the late Dr. Johns, we are furnished with cuneiform documents, describing different farms in the neighbourhood of Haran and giving the names of their owners or occupiers. On these tablets, written as their contents show while the Assyrian empire was still standing, we meet with several Syrian names having *idri* for their second component, such as *Ata-idri*, *Au-idri*, *Atar-idri*, *Bel-Harran-idri*, *Ilu-idri*, *Milki-idri*; also *Nashkhu-idri*, and *Si'-idri*, where *Nashkhu* and *Si'* are the local pronunciation of the names Nusku and Sin; these last two names thus forming a voucher that on the Haran tablets names were written down just as they were spoken. It appears, then, that in Haran in the seventh century B.C., as well as at Damascus in the ninth century B.C., *idri*, and not *izri*, was the form which corresponded to the Hebrew יְהִי. But if this were so, we should expect to find the same feature in other Syrian proper names containing roots which in Hebrew have *i* for one of their letters. And this is just what we do find when we run through the proper names in Johns' book. Thus the name *Si'-dikir*, "Sin remembers," finds its parallel in the Hebrew *Jo-zakar*,‡ "Jah remembers"; whilst *Si'-ahadi* may be compared

* With regard to the name *Dadda-idri*, see Note 1 at the end of this treatise.

† Rowley, p. 25.

‡ 2 Kings xii. 21.

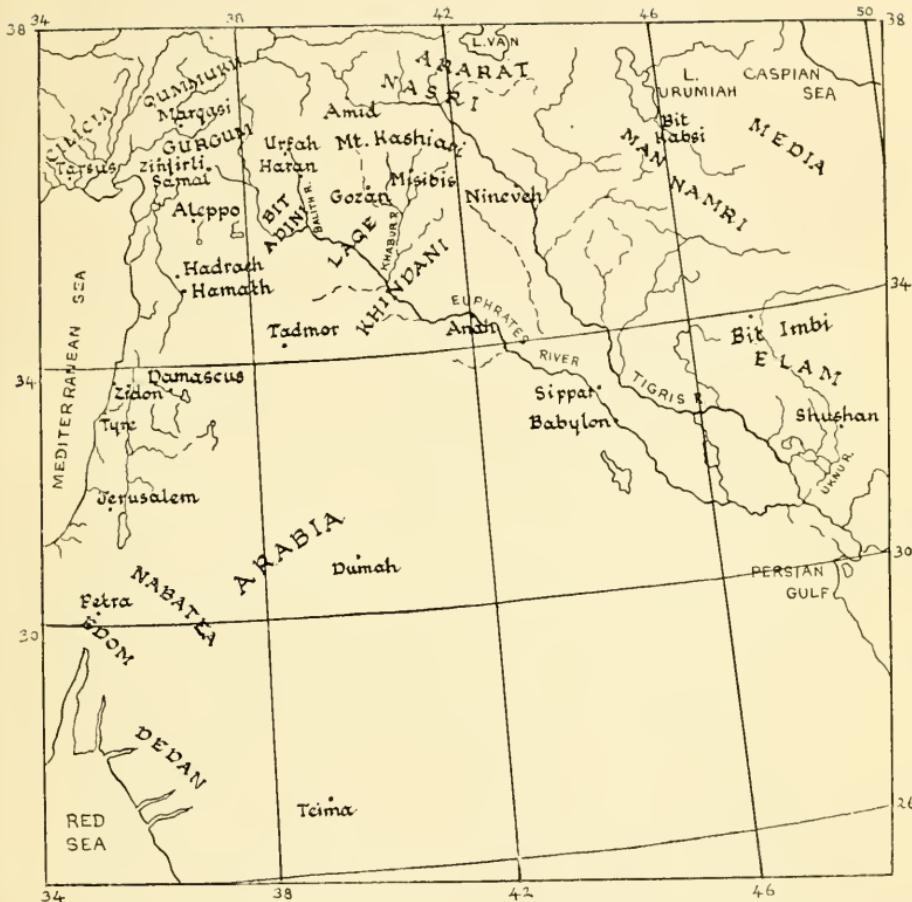
with Jehoahaz, and *Nashkhu-dimri* with Zimri, the abbreviated name of one of the kings of Israel.

The existence of a dental dialect in the ancient Aramaic may, then, be said to be proved. But it will still be asked : If such a dialect existed, how is it that we never meet with it in the older Aramaic inscriptions ? The answer to this question lies in the fact that the Arameans were diffused over a very wide area, and that the older inscriptions come to us from a very limited portion of that area. To realize this it will be well for us to glance at the early history of this people and to endeavour to trace their wanderings.

The first bit of history that we know concerning the Arameans is told us in Amos ix. 7, where Jehovah declares emphatically that Israel is not the only nation whose steps he has guided. His words are as follows : " Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor (Crete), and the Syrians (Heb. Arameans) from Kir ? " The Arameans, then, have come from Kir, and to Kir Amos predicts that they will be carried back (chap. i. 5), a prediction fulfilled by Tiglathpileser (2 Kings xvi. 9). But where is Kir ? Evidently we must look for it away from Damascus, it being the practice of that king to transport conquered peoples across the empire. This, however, does not help us much. But Hommel points out that an answer to the question can be obtained from Isa. xxii. 6, where the prophet, speaking apparently of forced contingents in the Assyrian army, couples the bow-bearers of Elam with the shield-bearers of Kir.* Kir, then, is to be sought for on the border of Elam. Now it is not a little remarkable that Tiglathpileser, after giving us a list of no less than thirty-five Aramean tribes whom he has subjugated, concludes it with the words, " the Arameans, all of them, on the banks of the Tigris, Euphrates, Surappi, and Uknu." † The Uknu is the river which flows past

* *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, 207 ff.

† Nimrûd Tablet.



MAP INTENDED TO ILLUSTRATE THE WIDE DISPERSION OF THE
ARAMEANS.

Shushan, the Capital of Elam, so that Arameans were still dwelling in Kir in the days of Tiglathpileser. But would that king be likely to take the Arameans of Damascus and plant them down among the stock from which they originally sprang ? Yes ! for this very good reason : that the two had been so long parted, and had now so little in common, that their Aramean origin would only be the more likely to beget a certain antagonism, each party claiming to be the true, genuine Arameans.

Only a fraction of the Arameans can have remained in Kir. The more enterprising part of the nation spread themselves far and wide. We can trace their wanderings up the river Euphrates and on into the vast Syrian desert, where Tiglathpileser I, *ca.* 1100 B.C., directed a campaign against them. "For the twenty-eighth time," writes that monarch, "in pursuit of the Ahlâme Arameans I crossed the Euphrates : the second time in one year. From Tadmar of Amurru (the Amorite Land), Anat of Suhi (the Shuhites of the Book of Job), even as far as Rapiku of Karduniash (Babylonia Proper) I defeated them." Tadmar is the Biblical "Tadmor in the wilderness" (2 Chron. viii. 4), known to the Greeks and Romans as Palmyra ; in the district from which come the Palmyrene inscriptions. Anat is the modern Anah on the Euphrates, and Rapiku lies further down the same stream, only three days' march from the Babylonian Sippar.* The Arameans can be traced up the Middle Euphrates by the names of the different city-states or of their rulers. Bit "house," i.e. kingdom, followed by the name of the founder, is a frequent mark of an Aramean settlement. Thus, a little above Anat we have Bit-Shabaia,† and higher up the state Khindani, whose ruler, Ammalaba, has a Semitic name.‡ Above Khindani is the state Laqê, whose king, Ila, as well as his chief men, Azi-ilu and Khinti-ilu, all bear names in which it is impos-

* See the inscription of Tukulti-Urta II in Luckenbill's *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, vol. i, p. 129.

† Annals of Ashurnatsirpal, col. iii.

‡ Annals of Tukulti-Urta II, *Ancient Records*, i. 130.

sible not to see the name of El, the chief god of the Syrians, and indeed in Hebrew the word for "God." * Going still further up the Euphrates to the bend where it approaches nearest to the Mediterranean, we come to Bit-Adini,* "The House of Eden," mentioned in Amos i. 5, apparently as a vassal-state of Damascus. To the west of Bit-Adini, and near the head of the Gulf of Iskanderun, is the state of Sam'al,† whose rulers bear Semitic names, such as Gabbar and Bamah.‡ Here have been found three Aramaic inscriptions written in the sibilant dialect, one dating probably from the first quarter of the eighth century B.C., the other two about seventy years later. North of Sam'al is the state of Gurgum, the capital of which was Markasi, the modern Marash. In the days of Sargon the ruler of Gurgum bore the Hittite name Tarkhulara. He was assassinated by his "son," i.e. successor, Mutallu: a Semitic name, or rather title, equivalent to our "Highness," and found also in the neighbouring state of Qummukh.§ Gurgum and Qummukh mark the furthest advance of the Arameans in the north-west. But it is worthy of notice that two Aramaic inscriptions, both probably belonging to the fifth century B.C., have been found rather further to the west; one in the valley of the river Lamas,|| the other on the banks of the Cydnus, fifteen miles north-east of Tarsus: ¶ so that Aramaic must to some extent have been spoken in Cilicia.

From Gurgum we must travel direct south down the eastern border of the maritime states to Hamath, occupying the valley of the Orontes and lying immediately to the north of Palestine. Hamath in the days of David was an Hittite state, but two centuries later we find it in the hands of the Arameans. Zakir, king of Hamath, who was a

* Annals of Ashurnatsirpal, col. iii.

† Nimrûd Tablet of Tiglathpileser III.

‡ Inscription of Kilammu, King of Sam'al.

§ Annals of Sargon, tenth and eleventh years.

|| G. A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 194.

¶ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 35 (1915-17), pp. 370-74
The epigraphic value of this inscription cannot be overestimated: see Note 2 at the end of this treatise.

contemporary of Benhadad III, the son of Hazael, mentioned in 2 Kings xiii. 3, 25, has left us an early inscription in Aramaic, which Kraeling, interpreting its contents by the events noted in the Assyrian Eponym Lists, assigns to *ca.* 772 B.C.*

Halfway between Gurgum and Hamath, but rather more to the east, lies Aleppo, the ancient Halman, in the vicinity of which have been found two Aramaic inscriptions, dating probably from the first half of the sixth century B.C., and written in the sibilant dialect.

We are now approaching Damascus and a group of Aramean states, mentioned in the Old Testament, which stretched from the north-east border of Israel to the further side of the Euphrates, viz. Aram-Zobah (Ps. ix, title), Aram-Damascus (2 Sam. viii. 6), Aram-Beth-Rehob (2 Sam. x. 6), Aram-Maacah (1 Chron. xix. 6), and Aram-Naharaim (1 Chron. xix. 6). Of these the chief was Damascus. Damascus, because of the fertility of its well-watered oasis, must needs have been a very ancient settlement, of which probably it could have been said as of Jerusalem, "the Amorite was thy father, and thy mother was an Hittite." † But just as it was ordered by God that Jerusalem should become the capital of Israel, so it was His intention that Damascus should become the head of Aram. The earliest mention of Damascus in the Old Testament is in connection with Abraham's defeat of the Elamite host (Gen. xiv. 15). Then, in the next chapter, as Sayce points out,‡ we read that the patriarch had a trusty steward who hailed from Damascus and bore the distinctively Aramean name Eleazar. To the Arameans El is Dadda (Hadad) : to the Israelites El is Jehovah. Hadad-ezer, or Dadda-idri, meant somewhat the same to them as Azariah to the Jews. If Abraham met with Eleazar at Damascus, then the Arameans must have been in that vicinity about 2000 B.C. Of the

* *Aram and Israel*, chap. xi.

† *Ezek. xvi. 3.*

‡ *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 175-76.

other Aramean states mentioned above we know little or nothing with the exception of Aram-Naharaim. Aram-Naharaim, "Aram of the Two rivers," the Nahrima of the Amarna tablets, probably got its name from the Balikh and the Khabur (Habor), two affluents from the north which join the Euphrates where it flows to the east. This region formed the ancient kingdom of Haran, from whence came the tablets which have already engaged our attention. Haran has indeed a very close connection with our subject. It is there that we have come into contact with the dental dialect, and it is from the lips of an inhabitant of Haran that we first hear the Aramaic spoken. The heap of stones which Jacob and Laban the Syrian (Heb. Aramean) have thrown up for a boundary between them, is called by Laban Jegar Sahadutha, by Jacob Galeed. Both names have the same meaning "the heap of witness"; but the former is Aramaic, the latter Hebrew.

The Arameans must have been in Haran about the same time that we have traced them in Damascus. Some six or seven centuries later, as soon as the Assyrian inscriptions develop into historical records, we hear of Haran and of those Ahlâme Arameans who were chased across the desert by Tiglatpileser I some two centuries later. Adad-nirari I, *ca.* 1300 B.C., tells us that he has extended his sway as far as "the fortress of Haran." He also speaks of his father, Arik-den-ilu, as having subdued the hordes of the Ahlâme.*

To the east of Haran, and in the extensive basin of the Khabur, lies the region known to the Assyrians as Khani-galbat. In this district, which is bounded on the north by Mount Kashiari, the modern Tur Abdin, the chief cities, Gozan and Nisibis, were in the hands of the Arameans, who disputed their possession so obstinately that Adad-nirari II (911-891 B.C.) was compelled to undertake no fewer than six expeditions against them. But this is not the limit of the northward advance of the Arameans. Crossing

* *Ancient Records*, i. 28.

Mount Kashiari we come to the state of Zamua, whose king, Ammi-Ba'li, and his two sons, Bur-Raman and Ilani, all bear Aramaic names. The capital of Zamua is Amedi, the modern Diarbekir, situated on the right bank of the Tigris in N. lat. $37^{\circ} 55'$, and which still bears the name *Kara Amid*, the Black Amid. What were the Arameans doing in this remote region? Ashurnatsirpal tells us that certain fortresses, which the Assyrians had seized as outposts against the land of Nairi, had now been seized by them, and that they were trampling the Assyrians under foot, in retaliation for which he carried off 15,000 Ahlâme Arameans to Assyria.*

Turning from the north to the north-east border of the Assyrian empire, we find on the Nimrûd Tablet of Tiglath-pileser III a list of seventeen states conquered by him in the direction of Media, beginning with Namri, and ending with "the city Zakruti of the mighty Medes," and it is noticeable that no fewer than twelve of these states have the prefix "Bit." To obtain some more definite idea of locality, let us take one of these twelve, Bit-Kabsi. Sargon in his famous letter to the god Ashur, when describing his line of march through the district to the south of Lake Urumiah, writes thus: "thirty double-hours between the land of the Manneans,† the land of Bit-Kabsi, and the land of the mighty Medes, impetuously I marched." Bit-Kabsi, then, lay between Man and Media, and as Sargon reached it soon after leaving a station named Missi, identified by Thureau-Dangin with Tachtépé immediately to the south of Lake Urumiah, we can hardly be wrong in placing it a little to the south-east of that lake.‡

From Bit-Kabsi we travel southward down the eastern border of the Assyrian empire to the land of the Kassites, penetrated by Sennacherib in his second campaign, where

* Inscription on the Kurkh monolith.

† The Minni of Jer. li. 27.

‡ See the map attached to *La Huitième Campagne de Sargon*, by Thureau-Dangin. Paris, 1912.

the names of cities, such as Bit-Kubatti and Bit-Kilamzah, bear witness to the existence of Aramean colonies.* Still further south, and rather more to the east, is Bit-Imbi on the north-west border of Elam.† From Bit-Imbi, travelling down the Uknu past Shushan we find on the lower reaches of that river the Gambulu, an Aramean tribe, one of whose chieftains in the days of Sargon bore the distinctively Aramaic name Hazael. The Gambulu must have formed the south-east extremity of what we may venture to call Aramaica, and in reaching their district we find ourselves back in Kir, in the vicinity of Elam, and near the head of the Persian Gulf. It may be well to close this geographical survey with Sennacherib's statement as to the preponderance of the Arameans in this region. At the close of the account of his first campaign he writes thus: "On my return, the Tu'muna, Kihihu, Iadakku, Ubudu, Kibrê, Malahu, Gurumu, Ubulu, Damunu, Gâmbulu, Hindaru, Ru'ûa, Pukudu,‡ Hamranu, Hagarânu,§ Nabatu, Li'tâu, Arameans who were not submissive, all of them I conquered. 208,000 people, great and small, male and female, . . . I carried off to Assyria."

With reference to the above survey I certainly do not mean to say that Aramaic was spoken universally throughout the vast region whose western, northern, and eastern boundaries we have been endeavouring to trace. The Assyro-Babylonian (Akkadian) would be the language of Assyria Proper and of the ancient Babylonian cities. But these latter appear to have been insulated, and, with the exception of Babylon, half submerged in the great ocean of Aramaica as time went on.|| How far south did that ocean extend? At least as far as Teima: witness the Aramaic inscription on the Teima Stone. It must then have encompassed Dumah, which lies some distance to the north of

* Taylor Cylinder, col. i.

† *Ancient Records*, ii. 305-306.

‡ Jer. 1. 21.

§ Ps. lxxxiii. 6.

|| Taylor Cylinder, col. i. 37-39.

Teima. Now Dumah—the chief town of the Jowf oasis, known to the Assyrians as Adumû—was the capital of the kingdom of “Arabia,” mentioned in the inscriptions of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal. Its ruler is styled “king of Arabia,” and his consort “queen of the Arabs.”* Ergo, the “Arabs” of the Assyrian records spoke Aramaic, the language of Dumah. So too, doubtless, did the Kaldi (Chaldeans) of S. Babylonia, who used the prefix “Bit” in the names of their city-states in just the same way as the Arameans.† When, then, Sennacherib in his first campaign, directed against that district, encountered a vast host of Chaldeans, Arameans, and Arabs, he was encountering an Aramean confederacy. Hence, too, Kraeling cannot be far wrong when he speaks of Abraham as “ethnically” an Aramean, and almost in the same breath assures us that “the O.T. narrator would perhaps reckon Terah’s family to the Chaldeans.”‡

The Arameans, then, being thus spread abroad, their language must consequently have been spoken far and wide. Now it is noticeable in the first place, as our geographical excursus will have served to show, that the few ancient Aramaic inscriptions which we possess all come from the north-west border of Aramaica. Zinjerli, where the Sam’al inscriptions were found, lies on the eastern slope of the Amanus range, about half-way between Antioch and Marash; Umm-esh-shershukh, in all probability the spot where the Zakir inscription was found, is “situated on a high long Tell above the Orontes,” a little to the north of Homs;§ and Nerab, which still retains its ancient name, is only a few miles to the south-east of Aleppo. Secondly, it is observed to be a characteristic of the dialect of the Aramaic employed on these monuments that the original *dh* sound is expressed by *z* as in the Hebrew and Phœnician. E.g.

* Cf. Esarhaddon, prism A, col. iii, with the close of the Alabaster Slab Inscription of Sennacherib.

† E.g. Bit-Jakin, Bit-Dakkuri, etc.

‡ *Aram and Israel*, p. 15.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 99, and see map attached.

on the Zakir Inscription Melid is spelt Meliz, Hadrach (Zech. ix. 1)—known to the Assyrians as Khatarika—is spelt Hazrak,* while the name Zakir represents the Aramaic *dikir*, which occurs in the name Si'-*dikir* found on the Haran tablets. This likeness of the dialect to the Hebrew has been noticed by several authorities. Thus, the late Prof. Driver, writing on the Zakir inscription, says, “The Aramaic of this district was known before from the inscriptions found at Zinjirli and Nerab to be curiously coloured with words and forms otherwise characteristic of Hebrew.” † Similarly G. A. Cooke, while acknowledging the Zinjirli inscriptions as belonging to the Aramaic rather than to any other branch of the Semitic family, adds, “on the other hand there are features which exhibit an affinity to the Canaanite group, Hebrew, Moabite, and Phoenician: and even more significant is the way in which the dialect allies itself with Hebrew (and Assyrian) rather than with the usual Aramaic.” ‡ Finally, Prof. Sayce, writing on the Zinjirli inscriptions, observes, “The strange and unexpected fact which they disclose is that the Aramaic language of Samahla (Sam'al) approached the Hebrew in many respects.” § I venture, then, to assert that the use of *z* for the original *dh*, which forms so characteristic a feature of these ancient inscriptions, is no mark of age, but is explained by their geographical position. Their writers were in close contact with the Hebrews and Phœnicians, and hence their use of the sibilant dialect.

But what are we to say of the ancient Aramaic which meets us in the dockets on contract tablets from Assyria and Babylonia, and in the Aramaic letter from Ashur of the time of Ashurbanipal? How are we to explain the use of *z* for *dh* in these documents? The explanation I think is this: that the Assyrians themselves in their own language

* The three forms of the name bear witness to the co-existence of the dental and sibilant dialects.

† *Expositor* for June, 1908.

‡ *North Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 184–85.

§ *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 195.

There remains yet one more locality to be dealt with. At Teima, in the far south of the realm of Aramaica, we meet with an ancient inscription, which on the ground of epigraphy has been assigned to the fifth century B.C. ; and here, too, the *z* reigns triumphant throughout, just as in Assyria and Babylonia. How is this to be accounted for ? By the fact that for several years, eight or possibly thirteen, Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, made Teima his place of residence, leaving his son Belshazzar to rule in Babylon. The Teima Stone is, therefore, a relic of Babylonian culture —as indeed is evident from the style of the bas-reliefs carved upon it—and the inscription on the Stone is therefore written in that dialect of the Aramaic which prevailed in Assyria and at Babylon.

But it will still be asked, What about Damascus and the regions of Northern Arabia? Are there no ancient inscriptions from these districts? Arabia Proper, i.e. Northern Arabia, according to Palgrave, is "singularly destitute of antiquities." This he attributes to the iconoclastic zeal of the conquering Mahometan tribes of the north, "who

* *Enc. Brit.*, 9th edn., article "The Semitic Languages."

[†]Hogarth, *The Ancient East*, p. 26. Cf. also Sayce, *Archæology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, pp. 142-43.

within their own territory, even more than in the acquired lands of Egypt, North Africa, and elsewhere, carried out the plan of establishing their own religion and system, not merely on the ruins, but, as far as possible, on the effacement of whatever had preceded it.” * Damascus, therefore, offers no ancient Aramaic inscriptions such as we may very well believe once existed there, owing to the fact that it was the headquarters of the Caliphate from 634 to 650 A.D. And the same must be said concerning that lovely oasis in N. Arabia, known as the Jowf, and whose chief town, till lately called Daumat-el-Jandal, is the modern representative of the Isaianic Dumah.† Dumah was the royal city of the ancient kingdom of Arabia in the seventh century B.C. But we find no ancient inscriptions there as at Teima. It was evidently too near the centre of the destructive Mahomedan power.

Returning now to the question of the *dh* sound, I have so far shown that in the ancient Aramaic there existed a dialect in which it was rendered by *d* rather than by *z*, and have endeavoured to show how it is that we have no ancient inscriptions in that dialect. I have confined myself to this particular dental for the simple reason that it admits of an easier proof than the other dentals, seeing that the Hebrew נָזֵל “help” formed such a favourite component in Semitic names. There were many such names, both in Hebrew and Phoenician as well as in Aramaic.‡ Many a man, when naming his son, delighted to proclaim his god to be a “help.” But *dh*, in Biblical Aramaic נ instead of the

* *Enc. Brit.*, 9th edn., vol. ii, p. 262.

† See my *Isaiah (Chapters i.-xxxix.) in the Light of the Assyrian Monuments*, pp. 165–182. (S.P.C.K., 1930.)

‡ Compare the Hebrew names, Abi-ezer, Ahi-ezer, Eli-ezer: also, Azar-iah, Azar-el, and Azri-el, which last in 1 Sam. xviii. 19, is spelt with a dental, *Adriel*, thus forming another corroboration of the antiquity of the dialect which we are investigating. To the same category belongs the name Ezra. This name is spelt Ἔσδρας in the Septuagint. It is possibly an abbreviation of the name Azar-el, spelt Ἔζριηλ in the Septuagint of Ezra x. 41, and Ἔσδρηλ in Neh. xi. 13. The appearance of σ followed by δ in these Greek renderings of the name is suggestive of an attempt to combine the two Aramaic dialects. In Phoenician we meet with the names Eshmun-azar, Baal-azar, and Ezra-Baal.

Hebrew *ׁ*, was, as the Book of Daniel shows, not the only dental answering to a Hebrew sibilant in that dialect of the Aramaic whose antiquity we are investigating. There are two other dental letters in the Aramaic of that Book which take the place of Hebrew sibilants. Not that every Hebrew sibilant becomes a dental in the Aramaic of Daniel ; but there are three definite cases in which this change takes place, and they are distinguished as follows :—

- (i) When the Hebrew *ׁ* answers to the Arabic *ׁ* it appears in Daniel as *ׁ*.
- (ii) When the Hebrew *ׂ* answers to the Arabic *ׂ* it appears in Daniel as *ׂ*.
- (iii) When the Hebrew *׃* answers to the Arabic *׃* it appears in Daniel as *׃*.

The existence of (i) in a dialect of the ancient Aramaic has already been established. But what of (ii) and (iii) ? If (i) holds good in that ancient dialect, it may be presumed that (ii) and (iii) will hold good likewise ; and this we shall find to be the case when we go forward to examine the Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine.

The Elephantine Papyri, found in the island of that name below the first cataract of the Nile, are in a wonderful state of preservation. They cover practically the fifth century B.C., and many of them, happily, are dated. The earliest, dated the twenty-seventh year of Darius—i.e. Darius I, for Darius II reigned only twenty years—is of great interest, for it exhibits the name “Darius” spelt as in the Book of Daniel דָרְיוֹשׁ ; whilst in such of the later documents as refer to the years of Darius II it is spelt דָרְיוֹהוֹשׁ and דָרְיוֹהוֹשׁ. This earliest document belongs to the year 495 B.C. ; only forty years after “the third year of Cyrus,” mentioned in Dan. x. 1. The next in age, belonging to the second year of Xerxes, 484 B.C., is for the purpose of this essay of even greater interest, for among the names of the witnesses we meet with the names נָשְׁקָעִידָרִי, i.e. *Nushku-idri*, and אַתְּעָדָרִי, i.e. *Ata-idri* ; and these names, be it noted, are written, not in the syllabic polyphones of the Assyrian

cuneiform used at Haran, but in the alphabetic characters employed in the Aramaic, which characters are derived from the same source as those of the ancient Hebrew alphabet. Should there, then, remain any the least shadow of doubt as to the correct rendering of the name Dadda-'idri, and the many names similarly compounded found on the tablets at Haran, this, the second of the Elephantine documents, should dispel it at once and for ever; for here is proof positive that *id-ri*, not *it-ri*, is the correct reading of the cuneiform characters.

On looking over the dated papyri, some thirty in number, we are struck with two very marked features, deserving of separate consideration. The first feature is this: that in the case of the verbal roots the three dentals, **ד**, **ת**, and **צ**, each hold their own as against the sibilants, **ש**, **שׁ**, and **צׁ**, respectively, throughout these papyri down to No. 35 (*ca.* 400 B.C.) with only three exceptions. The three exceptions all savour of business and book-keeping. The first occurs in No. 30.12, 28 * (408 B.C.), where "gold" is spelt **זהב** in the famous petition from the Jews of Elephantine for permission to rebuild their temple; whilst in the answer returned to that petition, No. 32.1, 2, "memorandum" is written **זברן**. Lastly, the word "shekel," save in one instance, is spelt with a **שׁ**. This is explained by Rowley on the ground that **לֻשָׁן** was probably a loan-word from the Babylonian: † a very likely explanation, since the Elephantine documents are mostly of a business character, and in some of them the word "shekel" is expressed by the abbreviation **שׁ**, just as we write *f. s. d.* The one exception is 10.5, where the word is spelt **תְּלַקֵּל** as in the Book of Daniel.

Such, then, is the almost invariably marked feature of these papyri. To descend now to particulars: **ד** takes the place of **ת** in such roots as **בדה** 2.17, **בדב** 8.17, **בדר** 10.9,

* The numerals refer to the number and line of the document as given in Cowley's *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford University Press, 1923.

† Rowley, p. 28. In the Ahikar Papyri (see next note) we meet with **זכור** "remember" in line 53.

15.17, דְּנָה 21.6, and דְּנָה 30.26. ת takes the place of ש in אַנְתֶּן 10.7, חִדְתָּ 5.3, אֲתָּר 6.2, יְהֻבָּ 8.16, אֲתָּר 14.4, שְׁתִּין 15.21, תְּמָה 25.6, תְּמָן 26.10, תְּקָלָה 15.24, תְּמָן 26.10, תְּרֵת 26.12, תְּבָרָה 33.10. ט takes the place of צ in טְעַן 6.6, שְׁבִיטָה 15.9, נְטַרָּה 27.1, and טְלָלָה 30.11. To the above twenty-five verbal roots may be added eight more from the story of Ahikar,* viz. אַרְזָן line 97, דְּחָלָן line 45, עַדְרָה line 99, מְוֹרִיאָה line 55, בּוֹתָה line 90, טְבָה line 120, יְגַתָּה line 62, and יְגַתָּה line 12. These thirty-three roots form so many examples of the rules given above, and stamp the language of the Elephantine papyri as essentially a dental dialect: not in process of development during the fifth century B.C., but already well developed, and undergoing little if any change during that century.

But along with this very marked feature we are bound to notice a second almost equally well marked, viz. that Relative and Demonstrative words, such as אֲזֶלֶי, בְּזֶלֶי, בְּזֶה, וְזֶה, וְזֶה, וְזֶה, for the most part are written with a ז, the ז, as Cowley observes, occurring only "sporadically": e.g. דְּנָה 13.7, 11.16: דְּבָרָא 14.6: 14.9: and דְּנָה 16.9. In these three documents, Nos. 13, 14, and 16, the dental forms of the pronouns make a brief intrusion into the realm of the sibilant forms, and then—so far as Elephantine is concerned—disappear from the scene. To make the significance of this fact more clear, let us take the twenty dated papyri and the thirteen that admit of approximate dating, and, throwing aside two duplicates, divide the remaining thirty-one into three sections as follows:—

- (i) Nine documents, of which eight are dated, ranging from 495 to 455 B.C.
- (ii) Four documents, ranging from 447 to 435 B.C., of which Nos. 13 and 14, just referred to, are dated

* A lengthy document, written on eleven sheets of papyrus, not dated, but assigned by Cowley to ca. 430 B.C. It consists of the famous old-world story, the hero of which, viz. Ahikar, is mentioned in the Book of Tobit, i. 21, 22, and xiv. 10. Included in the same papyri is a fairly large collection of proverbs, being, as Cowley remarks, "the earliest specimen of wisdom literature outside the Old Testament and cuneiform texts."

respectively 447 and 441 B.C., while Nos. 15 and 16 may be assigned approximately to 441 and 435 B.C. respectively.

- (iii) Eighteen documents, half of them dated, while the other half admit of being approximately dated, ranging from 428 to 400 B.C.

In the above division the first section covers exactly forty years. Its documents are only half the number in the third section, but they have this advantage, that all save one are dated. In this section the pronominal words are written with sibilants throughout. The second section ranges over twelve years: a comparatively brief period. In three of its four documents we meet with pronominal words written sometimes with dentals, sometimes with sibilants, and so strange is the intermingling of dialects that in No. 14.6 we find "that which" rendered **וְכָא**, the antecedent being written in the dental dialect and the relative in the sibilant. The third section covers a period of twenty-eight years, possibly only twenty-one years if the usurper mentioned in No. 35 be the first Amyrtaeus. The documents of this section are the most numerous, even if we omit two which for the present purpose are little more than lists of names. Throughout this section the pronominal words are written with sibilants as in the first section. The same holds good with respect to the other documents found at Elephantine belonging to the fifth century B.C., but to which no date, or even approximate date, can be assigned. It holds good also of the Story of Ahikar and of the Aramaic version of the Behistun Inscription. In all these the pronominal words are written with sibilants throughout, while the root-words with scarcely an exception are written with dentals.*

The above review should make it plain that it is no longer possible on the strength of the evidence afforded by the Elephantine Papyri to look on the fifth century B.C. as a

* The only exceptions are **וְהָבָה** 39.4, and Ahikar, line 193; and **כָּרֶב** Ahikar, line 53.

period of transition in the Aramaic, during which a dental dialect gradually superseded a sibilant one. What Elephantine shows us is a dialect in which the roots are expressed in dentals and the pronouns with very few exceptions in sibilants, and the question at once arises, How are we to account for this? Have the roots been changed from sibilants to dentals, or have the dentals of the pronouns been softened down into sibilants? Clearly the latter is the more likely for two reasons: first, because the pronouns, being little words and in very common use, would be more liable to be affected by foreign influence than the root forms; secondly, because the principle of least effort favours the change of dentals into sibilants, but is adverse to the change of sibilants into dentals.*

In the next place, the very occasional appearance of dental pronouns at Elephantine bears witness to the existence of two dialects in the Aramaic, and furnishes a few good instances of the clash of dialects. It is not, as some have supposed, that in these documents we see sibilant forms gradually giving place to dental; but rather dental forms making their occasional appearance among and alongside of sibilant forms: e.g. in No. 13, דִּלְבֵּי is found along with יִ, וְהָ, and צִ; and in No. 14, דְּכָא and דְּכֵי are found along with יִ, and וְהָ. This phenomenon is best explained on the supposition that the writers of these letters have at some time in their lives spoken the pure dental dialect, or have been brought into close contact with people speaking it. In all probability the system of wholesale transportation of conquered peoples, initiated by Tiglathpileser III, of whom a contemporary writes, "the daughters of the east he brought to the west, and the daughters of the west he brought to the east," † must have resulted in a great mixture of dialects. It must also be borne in mind that at Elephantine we are reading the compositions, not of

* This was pointed out to me by the late Ernest Sibree, lecturer in Comparative Philology at the University of Bristol.

† Bar-rekub, king of Ya'di in N. Syria. See *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 174.

literary people, but of mercenary soldiers, for the most part Jews, living not in Aramaica but in a foreign land, and drawn together probably from very different parts. Unless the community had been to some extent a settled community, owning lands and houses, the mixture of dialects would probably have shown itself in a larger number of the documents and not merely in three. As another instance of this mixture of dialects, in which the time-factor may well have played some part, we may point to the much later Mandean, where דָּחַבָּ “gold” appears side by side with נָאָבָּ, and דָּמָא “blood” is found along with נָמָא.* Again, the appearance of dental pronouns among sibilant pronouns in documents in which the root-words are all written in dentals, is strongly suggestive that if the dialect were written in its purity we should find the pronouns as well as the root-words written in dentals throughout as in the Book of Daniel. Lastly, let it be noted that in Egypt the pronouns continued to be written in sibilants long after the era of Elephantine. Thus, in papyri Nos. 81-83, which offer no dates and are not part of the find at Elephantine, but which from the many Greek names mentioned and the style of the writing are assigned by Cowley to the Ptolemaic period, *ca.* 300 B.C., we still meet with נִיְלִי, נִיְלִי, and נִיְלִי. Now, just as these late sibilant forms of the pronouns, which meet us in Egypt, can be traced back to the early Aramaic inscriptions on the north-west border of Aramaica, so that we meet with נִיְלִי and נִיְלִי at Hamath, Nerab, and Zinjirli, so it may be presumed that if we had ancient inscriptions from Damascus and the neighbourhood, we should find that the dental forms, נִיְלִי, and נִיְלִי, which we meet with in the late Palmyrene and Nabatean, are no creatures of yesterday, but have an equally long descent.† That the dental dialect should continue to be spoken at Palmyra can create no surprise, for that city lay on the great road passing westward

* Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 43.

† The Nabatean inscriptions cover the first two centuries of the Christian era: the Palmyrene range from 9 B.C. to A.D. 271.

through Haran and Damascus, and must have been in constant communication with both. Nor is it any surprise to find the same dialect in the Nabatean inscriptions, where, if any outside influence prevailed, it must have come from the Arabs of the south, who also spoke a dental dialect. The Palmyrene, therefore, should be looked upon as a survival, and probably the Nabatean also, in spite of the three early Nabatean inscriptions quoted by Rowley, in two of which sibilant pronouns appear along with dentals as in the three documents from Elephantine already referred to, while the third has sibilants only.

Beside the three rules given above, according to which in Biblical Aramaic Hebrew sibilants are exchanged for Aramaic dentals, there is a fourth rule according to which a Hebrew sibilant is exchanged for a palatal or for a weak letter. It runs thus:—When the Hebrew *שׁ* answers to the Arabic *ص* it appears in Daniel and Ezra as *שׁ*; but in Jer. x. 11 it appears first as *ר* then as *שׁ*. *ר* is also found on the ancient Aramaic inscriptions at Hamath and Zinjirli, as well as in Assyria, Babylonia, and Asia Minor. On the Elephantine Papyri *שׁ* is the first to make its appearance, viz. in No. 5.5 (471 B.C.): the very first instance in which the above rule can be exemplified. The *ר* appears a few years later in the next dated papyrus, No. 6 (465 B.C.), where אָרֶךְ “earth” comes into the document no fewer than seven times, and once in close connection with its variant אָרַעַ. Thus, in line 15 we find אָרֶךְ, in line 16 אָרַעַ. Exactly the same phenomenon appears in Jer. x. 11. It has been supposed that the *ר*, being found on the ancient Aramaic monuments and on the Nineveh weights, is the earlier usage. But, whether this be so or not, since the *שׁ* is found along with the *ר* in Jer. x. 11, a prophecy uttered during the reign of Jehoiakim (607–597 B.C.), and is also employed by Cyrus in the decree issued during his first year for the rebuilding of the temple—see Ezra vi. 4, where גָּנָן answers to the Hebrew שָׁבֵן—we need not be staggered by its appearance in the Book of Daniel. That Book, if we

may venture a guess, belongs to the early years of Cyrus : indeed, its writer almost tells us as much. Compare Dan. i. 21 with x. 1. Let me here add that in the four rules alluded to above Assyrian agrees with Hebrew as against Aramaic.*

In No. 26 of the Elephantine Papyri, Arsames, the Persian governor at Elephantine, issues an order for the repair of a boat. He uses the same dialect as the Jews and Syrians around him, viz. a dental dialect in which the pronouns are expressed in sibilants ; but contrary to the usual practice writes the numerals in words, which offer several illustrations of the dental character of the dialect. Thus we meet with תְּלִתָה “three,” תְּמִינָה “eighty,” תְּרִין “two,” and שְׁנִין “sixty” : all written with **ת** in the place of **ש** ; while the pronouns י, וְנָה, וְזָה, still hold their own.

Before we leave this part of our subject, let me point out a very marked difference noticeable between the Elephantine Papyri and the ancient Aramaic inscriptions. In the papyri the roots are written with dentals, and the pronouns for the most part with sibilants : but in the inscriptions from Hamath, Zinjirli, and Nerab, the roots are written with sibilants as well as the pronouns. Hence in the latter we meet with זָה, זָוַת, and יָה ; and also with the following :—

- (i) זָבֵר, וְחַל, וְחַב אֲחֹז, in which **ב** takes the place of **ד**.
- (ii) יְשַׁב אֲשֶׁר, in which **ש** takes the place of **ת**.
- (iii) נְצַר (קִיז) בְּיַצְר, in which **צ** takes the place of **ט**.

Our attention has so far been confined to branches of the Aramaic, but it is possible to test the antiquity of the dental dialect by examining the cognate languages. This treatise began with a reference to the proper name of a king of Syria as written in the syllabic characters of the Assyrian inscriptions, and it was seen that the Hebrew root *ezer*, being written *id-ri* by the Assyrian scribes, must have been pronounced with a dental in the Aramaic of Damascus. The

* See O’Leary’s *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 53, columns (3), (4), (6), and (7).

same appears to have been the case in S. Arabia. Prof. Hommel, in his valuable work entitled *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, pp. 84–85, presents us with several S. Arabian proper names, and amongst them is one which contains this very root *ezer*, viz. *Adhara-ilu*, corresponding to the Hebrew *Azar-el*, “God helped.” The aspirated dental, transcribed by Hommel *dh*, has in the Sabean alphabet of S. Arabia a special character to distinguish it from the simple *d*. This character resembles our capital H with the cross-bar doubled and slightly sloped. In the Sabean roots, corresponding to Hebrew roots, given in Francis Brown’s Hebrew Lexicon, it is represented by **ת** with a horizontal line above it : **תָ**, when it stands for *th*, and **תִ**, when it stands for *t*, i.e. *t* emphatic, being treated in a similar manner. Now this dental *dh*, which comes under the first of the three rules given above, appears in the following S. Arabian proper names furnished by Hommel: *Abi-dhamara* “My Father is protector,” *Dhimri-ali* “My Protector is sublime,” *Animi-dhara* “My Uncle sowed”—the reference being in each case to God. These names, it will be seen at a glance, contain the Hebrew roots יְמַר and עֲדֵ, and being admittedly of great antiquity, are vouchers for the dental dialect having been long in use among the Mineans and Sabaeans of S. Arabia. When, therefore, we turn to the very numerous inscriptions found in those parts, written in an alphabet which has gone through so many changes that we can hardly attribute to it a remoter antiquity than the third–fourth century B.C.,† we need not trouble ourselves as to their exact age, but it is a matter of interest to trace in them the dental dialect as indicated by the characters which stand for the *dh* and the *th*, and to note the changes in the pronouns and verbal roots as compared with the Hebrew. Thus, instead of **תְ** “this,” fem. **תָּאִ**, we have on the Minean and Sabean monuments **תְּ** and **תְּ**; while

* See F. Hommel, *Sud-Arabische Chrestomathie*; and W. Prideaux, *Sabean Grammar*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. v.

† O’Leary, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 22.

", used at Elephantine for the Relative Pronoun and also as a sign of the Genitive, is exchanged for **ת**. Similarly, though the vocabulary of the monuments is a limited one, yet Sabeen roots in which **ת** takes the place of **ת** can be found, and are given in Francis Browne's lexicon under אַחֲר "grasp," בְּנָה "sacrifice," וְהָבֵד "gold," זְבִרֵר "mention," and וְעַד "arm." For the second rule, according to which the Hebrew **שׁ** is changed into **ת**, Sabeen roots in **ת** are given in the lexicon under חָדֵש "new," יְרַשֵּׁת "inherit," שָׂוֹב "turn," שְׁבָר "break," שָׁלֵשׁ "three," שָׁמְנָה "eight," and שִׁיר "become raised." To express the *th* sound as distinguished from the simple *t* the Sabeans have invented a special character, which may be described as two small squares joined corner-wise by a vertical line. Sometimes the squares are brought rather close together and rounded: the letter then resembles an 8. For the third rule, according to which under certain circumstances **צ** becomes **ת**, I have only been able to find one example in the lexicon under צָלֵל "grow dark": in Sabean נְלָטָה.

As illustrations of the above rules from the monuments of Arabia note the following: הַלְּהָהָן אַצְלָמָן הַדְּהָבֵן "thirty statues of gold"; מְוַתְּהַבְּהָמוֹ: כֶּתֶת "their seat": כֶּתֶת "for that": מְהַטְּלָלָם "canopy." *

There now remains only one other cognate language to engage our attention, viz. the Ethiopic, or, as it should perhaps more correctly be termed, the Abyssinian, as being the language of Aksum, the ancient capital of Abyssinia. The Semitic kingdom of Aksum is believed to have arisen out of an Arabian emigration into Africa, caused by the conquests of the Parthians in S. Arabia in the latter half of the first century B.C. The newcomers were able at that time to make headway in Africa because the power of the Ptolemies was falling to pieces and the Romans had not yet taken their place.† But long before the founding of

* Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, p. 43. inscription, lines 2, 3, 8, and p. 48, note on line 5.

† Glaser, p. 138.

the Aksumite kingdom Semitic colonists must have found their way into Africa across the Red Sea. This is indicated in a remarkable way in the tenth chapter of Genesis, a very ancient record, and apparently of a geographical-ethnological character. In verse 7 of that chapter Sheba and Dedan are mentioned among the children of Ham through Cush, i.e. Ethiopia, and are therefore to be looked for in Africa. Yet in Gen. xxv. 1-3, which may be supposed to give their natural descent, they are said to be sprung from Abraham and Keturah through Jokshan, and we should expect, therefore, to find them in Asia. And, as a fact, Sheba—the country of the famous queen who came from far to hear the wisdom of Solomon—is often mentioned in the S. Arabian inscriptions as well as its capital Maryab, the modern Marib ; * whilst Dedan, which according to Ezek. xxv. 3 either forms the southern province of Edom or borders on Edom's southern frontier, is mentioned along with Egypt, Gaza, Moab, Ammon, and Kedar in the north-west Arabian inscriptions found at el-Oela to the south of Teima.† How, then, are we to reconcile these results with a Sheba and Dedan in Africa ? Simply by supposing that portions of these tribes crossed the Red Sea, one at the southern and the other at the northern end, to find new territories in Africa.

In the case of Sheba the above is certainly no mere supposition. As O'Leary observes, "The Semitic-speaking people of Abyssinia are obviously very closely allied with the Mineans, Sabeans, and Himyarites of S. Arabia." ‡ Very striking evidence of this close connection with Arabia confronts us when, in the days of king 'Ezana, about the middle of the fourth century A.D., the Abyssinian kingdom first emerges out of the darkness. 'Ezana styles himself "king of Aksum, and of Hemēr, and Raidan, and Habashat, and Saba', and Salhē, and Tseyamo, and Kasu, and Bega,

* This is the Sheba of Gen. x. 28.

† Cf. Hommel's *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, pp. 239, 273, also the inscription in his *Sud-Arabische Chrestomathie*, p. 117, line 10.

‡ *Arabia before Muhammad*, p. 115.

king of kings," etc.* The first and the last three of these titles are taken from conquests in Africa: the others are derived from possessions in S. Arabia. The only doubt is with regard to Habashat—whence comes the name "Abyssinia." In a Greek inscription of 'Ezana this name is replaced by *Aἰθιόπων*; nevertheless, its place on the list of titles, coupled with the fact that the name is first found on the monuments of S. Arabia, seems to show that the Habashat must have had their first home in Arabia. In Hemēr we see the Himyarites, and in Saba' the Biblical Sheba of 1 Kings x. Raidan is the royal castle at Zafar, the capital of the Himyarites, and Salhē the famous castle of the Sabean kings at Marib. According to Hommel "kings of Saba' and Raidan" was the title borne by the latest Sabean monarchs.† On the whole the impression given is, that some ancestor of king 'Ezana has transferred the seat of his power from S. Arabia to the Abyssinian Aksum. If this be so, the claim put forward by the Abyssinians that their present line of monarchs, who still bear the title "king of kings," is sprung from a son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, is seen to be no impossibility.

Leaving, however, these fascinating historical studies, our interest in this tractate is not so much with the racial and political connection between Abyssinia and S. Arabia, as with the linguistic and epigraphic. Ethiopic, the language of ancient Abyssinia down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, of which the present Amharic is a sister dialect, is a member of the Semitic family of languages. "All its roots," according to Dillmann, "may be pointed out as occurring in other Semitic languages."‡ At the same time it is full of foreign words, and the Pre-

* For this and many of the following details I am indebted to Enno Littmann's fascinating and comprehensive work, *Deutsche Aksum Expedition*, published by George Reimer, Berlin, 1913. This work was issued in four parts. The inscriptions of Ezana are dealt with in part iv, where the first Plate is a photograph of the stone bearing inscriptions Nos. 6 and 7.

† *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 78: published by S.P.C.K.

‡ *Ethiopic Grammar*, p. 3, 2nd edn., translated by Crichton. London, 1907.

positions and Conjunctions are different for the most part from those found in other branches of the Semitic family. Even when we first meet with it in the days of king 'Ezana this feature strikes us, and furnishes a proof that the people who spoke it had been resident in Africa long before the seat of government was transferred from S. Arabia to Aksum.

But though we notice this difference between the Sabean of S. Arabia and the Ethiopic of Abyssinia, we also notice that from the alphabetic point of view there is a very close connection. The Sabean alphabet has twenty-nine letters, the Ethiopic only twenty-six. Of the whole number of letters twenty-two are common to both alphabets, and when we turn to examine their shapes, the Ethiopic characters are seen to be the Sabean characters with their corners rounded off; some of them turned through a right angle, and one turned upside down. Hence, while the latter, being square and angular, are well suited for lapidary inscriptions, the former with their rounded shapes and thick down strokes suit better the pen than the chisel.

The two earliest inscriptions of king 'Ezana, known as Nos. 6 and 8,* present us with the strange phenomenon of Ethiopic written in Sabean characters. The older of these, No. 6, has a duplicate in Ethiopic characters written lower down on the same stone. It is not an exact duplicate: the order of titles is varied, and certain S. Arabian words are exchanged for their Ethiopic equivalents. It was written doubtless at a later period, when the knowledge of the Sabean characters and of Sabean terms was fast fading away. This duplicate, known as No. 7, is strictly speaking the earliest *Ethiopic* inscription, both language and script being Ethiopic. Nos. 6 and 7 are graved again on the other side of the stone. No. 8, like No. 6, is Ethiopic, written in Sabean characters. It is an entirely different inscription, written somewhat later in the reign of 'Ezana, and we notice that in the list of titles the order is the same

* The Nos. are taken from Littmann's book.

as in No. 6, but "Habashat" is wanting. No. 11, written later still, is of deep interest. Christianity, or it may be only Jewish monotheism, has found its way to Abyssinia, and the king attributes his successes, not to Astarte, and the Earth, and Mahrem—known from No. 4, the corresponding Greek inscription to No. 6, to be identical with Mars—but to "the might of the Lord of heaven." It is, however, with Nos. 6 and 8 that we are chiefly concerned.

In No. 6, 'Ezana styles himself *maleka malekan* "king of kings," and uses the word *ben* for "son." Both of these belong to the Semitic of S. Arabia. In Nos. 7 and 8 they are exchanged: the former for the Ethiopic *negus nagašt*, the latter for the Ethiopic *waled*. Further, since Ethiopic, unlike Sabean, uses a sibilant dialect, therefore the two characters described above, which are used in Sabean for the *dh* and *th* sounds, have no place in the Ethiopic alphabet. It is, therefore, with some surprise that we find these characters re-appearing: the *dh* in Nos. 6 and 8, where we should expect the Ethiopic *z*; and the *th* in No. 6 only, where we should expect the Ethiopic *s*. In No. 6 the *dh* is used as the sign of the Genitive in line 1, "and of Hemēr"; and as the Relative in lines 2 and 11. Also the Ethiopic word '*ahzab* "peoples" is spelt with a *dh* instead of with a *z*. Stranger still, the Ethiopic conjunction '*enza* "whilst," written correctly in lines 9 and 11, appears in line 6 as '*endha*. No. 8 presents similar features. With regard to the Sabean character for *th*, we meet with it only in No. 6, where it appears six times: thus, in line 12, Aksum is written '*Akthum*. The first impression given by these anomalies is that we have here another clash of dialects such as we have already met with at Elephantine. But this does not appear to be the true explanation. As Littmann points out, when No. 8 was written "the knowledge of the Sabean script was already disappearing, for otherwise the scribe would not have attached to every word a purely graphic *m*, even to words to which it would never be affixed

in Sabean." * This, therefore, must be due to the ignorance of the scribe. For another proof of this ignorance Littmann shows how no fewer than three Sabean letters are used by him to represent the Ethiopic *s*, viz. the *th* just referred to and two others. This ignorance I am desirous to emphasize, for otherwise it might be supposed that the double-barred H sometimes bore the value of *z*. For *z* the Ethiopic uses H with a single bar, identical in form with our capital letter : a character which, placed horizontally, bore the same value in the primitive Semitic alphabet.

The fact that in Ethiopic the dental letters of the Sabean at which we have been looking were replaced by sibilants, may be easily verified by the student with the help of the Hebrew lexicon. He will there find

(i) that when the Hebrew *ח* is represented in Arabic by *ح*, the Sabean *חָ* is replaced in Ethiopic by *z* : examples

Hebrew	Aramaic	Sabean	Ethiopic
אַחֲרָ	אַחֲרָ	חָ	'ahaza, "take hold of."
וּכְתָ	דְבָחָ	חָ	zebeh, "sacrifice."
וּכְרָ	דְבָרָ	חָ	zakara, "remember."

(ii) that when the Hebrew *שׁ* is represented in Arabic by *ش*, the Sabean *חָ* is replaced in Ethiopic by *s* : examples

שָׁבֵךְ	תָּבֵר	חָ	sabara, "break."
שָׁוֹר	תָּוָרָה	חָ	sor, "bullock."
שָׁלֵשׁ	תָּלֵתָה	חָ	shalastu, "three."
שָׁמְנָה	תָּמְנִיא	חָ	samāniyu, "eight."
אֶנְשָׁ	אֶתְרָא	חָ	'anset, "woman."
יְרָשָׁ	יְרוּתָה	חָ	warasa, "inherit."

(iii) when the Hebrew *עַ* is represented in Arabic by *ع*, the Sabean *חָ* is replaced in Ethiopic by *s* (*ts* emphatic). Example
 צָלָל طָלָל טָלָל סָלָלָה, "be dark."

For a further comparison of Ethiopic with Sabean, attention should be paid to the pronouns. For the nearer demonstrative we have in Sabean masc. *הָ*, fem. *הָתָ* : in Ethiopic masc. *zē*, fem. *zā*. For the relative pronoun we have in Sabean masc. *חָ*, fem. *חָתָ* : in Ethiopic we have, *za*, which

* The graphic *m*, known as the Mimation and answering to the Tenwin in Arabic, is attached in Sabean, not to all nouns, but only to triptotes ; and then, only under certain conditions.

may be used for the fem. singular, and for the masc. and fem. plural; and also as a mark of the genitive.

What was the cause of the above changes? Clearly, outside influences. The S. Arabian Semitic, coming across the Red Sea into Abyssinia, must have come into contact with certain African tongues, and this would account for many of the foreign words found in it. But in this matter of sibilants and dentals I am reminded by Dr. O'Leary that the Ethiopic rather resembles the Akkadian (Assyrian). He observes that "there was a steady flow of Akkadian culture round E. and S. Arabia across to Ethiopia," and that "in the pronominal forms there are many analogies between Akkadian and Ethiopic." That the Assyrian deals in sibilants was noticed when we were looking at the Aramaic dockets on Assyrian contract tablets. The sibilant character of Ethiopic may, then, very well have come from this quarter.

But we may go yet further afield, from the Ethiopic proper, at which we have been looking and which is no longer a spoken language, to the Amharic, the Ethiopic dialect now spoken throughout the greater part of Abyssinia. "With the exception, of course, of Arabic," writes Nöldeke, "no Semitic tongue is spoken by so large a number of human beings as Amharic."* The same authority assures us that Amharic has diverged from the ancient Semitic type to a far greater extent than other Abyssinian dialects, and that "not more than half the vocabulary can, without improbability, be made to correspond with that of the other Semitic languages." Yet even in this strange speech, so full of foreign words and with a syntax strikingly un-Semitic, we meet with many traces of the sibilant dialect: first, in the Demonstrative pronouns, where the syllable *zīh* (Ethiopic *zē*, *zā*) occurs in all the cases except, strangely enough, the Nominative and Accusative singular, e.g. Masc. Nom. *yeh* "this," Gen. *yazīh*, Dat. *lazīh*, etc.: then, in the Numerals, *sōsth* "three," *siddisth* "six," and *simminth* "eight": and lastly, in the verbal roots, *addis*

* *Enc. Brit.*, 9th edn., article "The Semitic Languages."

"new," *sabbara* "break," *warasa* "inherit," *zimb* "a fly," etc.* All these assure us that in Amharic we have a living witness to the perpetuity of the sibilant dialect in the Semitic realm, while Arabic offers a similar witness as to the perpetuity of the dental dialect. Further, Amharic is a masterful language. "It always tends to displace those foreign tongues which surround it"; † and Arabic, we may feel quite sure, will always hold its own. Thus, the two dialects, which in the case of the Aramaic can be traced back, the dental to the ninth century B.C., and the sibilant to the eighth century B.C., are still alive in the Semitic world, and in all probability will continue to live on to the end of time.

Before I bring this essay to a close it may be well for me to mention another consonantal variation, which has been regarded as an evidence of the late date of the Book of Daniel. I refer to the forms assumed by masculine Pronouns of the second and third persons Plural when suffixed to Nouns, Verbs, and Prepositions, as they appear in the different branches of the Aramaic and in the cognate languages. These pronominal suffixes are of two types, the one formed with *m*, the other with *n*, as shown in the following lists.

<i>m</i> type		<i>n</i> type	
2nd and 3rd persons Plural		2nd and 3rd persons Plural	
Hebrew . .	<i>kem</i>	<i>hem</i>	Assyro- } <i>kumu</i> &c. <i>šunu</i>
Phoenician . .		<i>hm</i> ‡ &c.	Babylonian } &c.
Aramaic in- scriptions . .	<i>km</i>	<i>hm</i>	Aramaic of Daniel . . <i>kon</i> <i>hon</i>
Nabatean . .		<i>hm</i>	Palmyrene . <i>hn</i>
Arabic . .	<i>kum</i>	<i>hum</i>	Syriac . . <i>kun</i> <i>hun</i>
Minean . .		<i>sm</i>	Aramaic of Targums . <i>kon</i> <i>hon</i>
Sabean . .		<i>hm</i>	Mandean <i>ko</i> (<i>u?</i>) <i>n</i> § &c. <i>ho</i> (<i>u?</i>) <i>n</i> § &c.
Ethiopic . .	<i>kemmu</i>	<i>homu</i>	

* Alone, J. P., *Short Manual of the Amharic Language*.

† *Enc. Brit.*, 9th edn., article "The Semitic Languages."

‡ The vowels are not expressed in the inscriptions except in the case of the Assyrian. The "&c." signifies that there are other forms of the suffix, but all with an *m* or *n* according to the list in which they stand.

§ The vowel, a long one, is either *o* or *u*.

The Elephantine papyri and the Book of Ezra are not entered on the above lists because they call for a particular notice. The papyri with very few exceptions have *m*; but in No. 34.6, 7 (*ca.* 407 B.C.), and in 37.14 (probably *ca.* 410 B.C.), and also in 16.4 (435 B.C.), if, as seems probable, the pronoun be masculine, we meet with *n*. This sporadic use of *n* in the papyri is nevertheless sufficient to show the existence of an *n* dialect, just as the sporadic use of pronouns written with dentals bears witness to the existence of a dental dialect. Similarly in the Book of Ezra, in the Aramaic portions, we find both *m* and *n*, used in a somewhat indiscriminate manner; an indication of the mixture of dialects. Especially is this the case with the narrator, probably Ezra himself, who must have spent most of his life in Babylon at the time when he compiled his book.* Thus in chap. v. 3, he uses *m* and *n* in the same verse. Exactly the same phenomenon meets us at Elephantine in papyrus No. 34.6, where בָּהּ is followed by מִרְיָהּ in the same line. Tattenai, governor of the Persian province west of the Euphrates, uses the *m* consistently throughout his letter: chap. v. 7-17. Darius, in his reply to Tattenai, chap. vi. 6-12, uses *m* once in verse 9, and *n* once in verse 6. This is of importance as showing the existence of the *n* dialect in the second year of Darius, 520 B.C., the time when the letter containing his decree was written: see chap. iv. 24. Artaxerxes in his commission to Ezra, 458 B.C., uses *m* four times and *n* thrice: chap. vii. 12-26. In his reply to the Samaritans he uses *n* once: chap. iv. 18-22. To sum up: *m* appears fifteen times, and *n* sixteen times in the Book of Ezra: a book in which the scene moves to and fro between east and west.

Returning now to the above lists and directing our attention to the cognate languages, the *n* would appear to be quite as old as the *m*, since it is found in the Assyrian. That these languages are more or less closely related in this matter is shown by the sibilant which appears in the Minean

* Rawlinson, *Speaker's Commentary*, Ezra, pp. 386-87.

sm and the Assyrian *šunu*, whilst at the same time the one employs *m* and the other *n*. Similarly, as regards the Aramaic of Daniel, in the use of the *n* it is in agreement with Assyrian; in the use of *d* for the original *dh* it differs. Then, coming down to the latter Aramaic, we are struck with the fact that though Nabatean and Palmyrene are contemporary dialects, the former uses *m* and the latter *n*. In the case of the Nabatean this is easily explained, for it is admitted on all hands that the Nabateans were Arabs and would therefore make use of the dialect which was presently to develop into Arabic. But what are we to say about the Palmyrene? Palmyra, the ancient Tadmor, and so called in the inscriptions, was "built," i.e. fortified, by Solomon, no doubt as forming an important centre of desert commerce. This commerce must have brought it into very close touch with Damascus, which lies 150 miles to the south-west. Is it not, then, possible that this close contact with Damascus, the political capital of Aramaica and doubtless the centre of Aramaic culture, accounts for the *n* in the Palmyrene, and that we may look upon it as a survival of the purer Aramaic, of which the Book of Daniel exhibits so noble a specimen?

In its use of the dental dialect the Palmyrene, as might be expected, agrees with the Book of Daniel. The same feature appears in the Nabatean. And this, too, creates no surprise when we notice that the Arabs recognized the *dh* as a modified dental, and were careful to denote it in their alphabet by *d* with a mark of differentiation over it. But it will be said, What about the Targums? Are there not in the Aramaic of the Targums many points of contact with the Aramaic of Daniel? Undoubtedly there are; and why should there not be? The Book of Daniel, we may feel very sure, was held in high respect by the writers of the Targums, and they must have been very familiar with it. It is true that in their days it had most probably been taken out of the division of the Old Testament known as The Prophets, and placed in the Hagiographa, where it stands

very suitably with the later historical Books, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Esther ; but this must not be looked upon as any sign of depreciation. Surely, they who wrote those Aramaic paraphrases of the Hebrew Scriptures would be the very persons to have at their finger ends those parts of the Old Testament which were written in Aramaic. The agreement, therefore, between the Targums and the Book of Daniel, despite the long interval of time which separates them, is only what we might expect from men who were probably far more familiar with their Sacred Scriptures than we are with our Bibles.

There now remains only the Mandean. The Mandaeans, whose name signifies "Gnostics," and whose religion is compounded of Judaism, Heathenism, and Christianity, are a race dwelling in the marshlands near the mouth of the Euphrates. They speak the language of those around them, but their sacred books are written in a dialect of the Aramaic known as Mandean. O'Leary speaks of Mandean as "of great value, not only because of a fairly abundant literary material, but also because its isolation protected it from Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic influences, and so it displays an independent development of Eastern Aramaic." * The Mandean Aramaic has four links with the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel.

(i) The Infinitive of the Peal, and of the Peal only, has the prefix *m*.

(ii) The third person masculine of the Imperfect, which in Mandean generally has the prefix *n*, frequently has the prefix *l*, which is found in Dan. ii. 20. Compare also Dan. ii. 43 and v. 17.

(iii) As stated in the above list, the suffixed masculine pronouns of the second and third persons plural end in *n*.

(iv) Mandean belongs to the dental dialect of the Aramaic, as witnessed by the forms of the Relative and Demonstrative pronouns, and by the verbal roots. Thus we have for the Relative 'נ or נ, according as we read the abbrevia-

* *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 16.

tion ; and for the Demonstrative זֶן, fem. זֶנֶּה.* Of these four links the most remarkable is (i), which is found in no other dialect of the Aramaic. In Syriac the *m* prefix of the Infinitive is found in all the conjugations. Only in the Biblical Aramaic and the Mandean is it confined to the Peal. With respect to (iv) Nöldeke points out that the same word is often found spelt in two ways, viz. with a dental or a sibilant ; and that, too, in the closest connection. Thus, almost close together we meet with דְמָא and וְמָא “ blood,” and דִיקָלָא “ palm-tree ” is found alongside of וִיקָלָא. He also points out that in these cases the sibilant is the form most often used.† This perhaps is not to be wondered at when we consider the nearness of the Assyro-Babylonian. Nevertheless, the appearance of dentals in the pronouns, the numerals, and the verbal roots, justifies us in classing Mandean with the dental dialect of the Aramaic.

Lastly, the above lists, taken in conjunction with the fact already dwelt upon, viz. that the dental dialect was spoken at Damascus and Haran, are very suggestive as to the Eastern origin of the Book of Daniel. Let my readers place before them a map of what used to be called Turkey in Asia, and mark well the situation of the following places and regions : first, the district between Marash and the Gulf of Iskanderun, in which lies Zinjirli ; then, Aleppo, near to which is Nerab ; also, Hamath, immediately to the north of Palestine, where was found the oldest Aramaic inscription. Then let them lay down the map and travel in thought to Petra, south of Palestine, the wonderful rock city. In this district were found the Nabatean inscriptions. From Petra a long flight half-way down the far-extending Hijaz or “ barrier,” which forms the eastern border of the Red Sea, will bring them to the district of Medina and Mecca, the home of the classical Arabic. Thence, an equally long flight, still further south, will carry them to Sheba and Ethiopia, the utmost parts

* *Mandäische Grammatik*, pp. 92, 89.

† *Ibid.*, p. 43.

of the Semitic world, lying on either side of the entrance to that long inland sea. We need to go no further: a hasty flight northward must carry us back into the map and set us down at Damascus, the cultural, though not the geographical, centre of Aramaica, and one of the places where '*izri*' was pronounced '*idri*'. From Damascus our course lies E.N.E. to Palmyra in the Syrian Desert, and thence almost due north to Haran on a left-hand tributary of the Euphrates, another centre of the dental dialect. From Haran we pass northward to Urfa, on the same tributary stream and once a centre of the literary Syriac; and thence eastward to Nisibis, another centre of the Syriac. From Nisibis we shall do well to push on still further east to the valley of the Tigris, so that we may mark the site of Nineveh, and going down stream from thence may cross over at Baghdad to the Euphrates, mark the ruin-mounds of Great Babylon, and end our wanderings in the marshes at the mouth of that river, the haunts of a miserable remnant of the ancient Mandeans. With the positions of all these different localities now well fixed in our minds, let us look again at the above lists. What is the thought that at once strikes us? Is it not this: that the *m* list belongs to the Western Aramaic, and the *n* list to the Eastern? If, then, we also bear in mind that the Western dialect, as displayed in the ancient Aramaic inscriptions, is seen to be a sibilant dialect, whilst the Aramaic of Damascus and Haran, as shown by the Syrian proper names, is no less evidently a dental dialect, it becomes clear that the Book of Daniel, which preserves the *n* throughout and at the same time is consistently written in dentals, may on these two accounts rightly lay claim to an Eastern origin. Such a claim would certainly agree well with the face value of the book as appearing to have been written by Daniel himself, and also with the tradition which places the tomb of the prophet at Shushan on the eastern verge of Aramaica: * a tradition which may very well be founded

* See the frontispiece to this treatise.

on fact, seeing that Daniel, having become an object of envy and hatred to the Babylonian presidents and satraps, would, so one thinks, be glad enough to live away from Babylon. Hence the latest glimpse we get of him is on the banks of the Tigris (Dan. x. 4), and it is quite conceivable that in his old age he may have gone to live at Shushan, a place with which he was already acquainted (Dan. viii. 2), and where he would be more immediately under the ægis of the friendly Persian power.

But it will be said, "Surely the question is hardly a geographical one. Should it not rather be treated from the chronological standpoint? If the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel agrees in so many respects with the Palmyrene, Nabatean, and Syriac, and even with the late Mandean, how can we look upon that Book as a work of the latter half of the sixth century B.C.?" What is the answer to such a line of argument? Just this: *the continuance of dialect*. For instance, the sibilant dialect found at Hamath early in the eighth century B.C. is also found in the late papyri of the second century B.C., and even in the much later Mandean, where it appears to be getting the better of its dental rival. What have been accounted marks of late origin are in many cases probably only survivals, as is shown by their very persistence. Thus, the *n* of the suffixed personal pronouns, found in the decree of Darius, 520 B.C., and which forms such a characteristic feature of the Book of Daniel, is of high antiquity and long descent by the time when it makes its appearance in the Mandean.* When, then, we note it as a linguistic feature of that Book, we must not regard it as an upstart. Its very persistence so far down into the Christian era bids us think otherwise. There is no reason why it should not be quite as old as its rival, the *m*.

Let me now sum up the chief points reached in this essay.

* See G. R. Driver's pedigree of the Semitic languages, given in *Enc. Brit.*, 14th edn., vol. xx, p. 316.

(i) The name Dadda-'idri, and other like names, are found to furnish undoubted evidence of a dental dialect in the ancient Aramaic.

(ii) A very possible explanation has been offered of the absence of any very ancient inscriptions in that dialect.

(iii) The dialect has been exhibited in the Elephantine Papyri, of the fifth century B.C., as found in the verbal roots throughout, and occasionally in the pronouns.

(iv) It has also been traced in the cognate language of S. Arabia, but not in the Early Ethiopic, where its seeming appearance is due to the ignorance of the scribe.

(v) Lastly, in another case of consonantal variation, exhibited by certain of the suffixed personal pronouns, attention has been called to a second instance of the co-existence of dialects, and from the dialect employed in the Book of Daniel in both these cases an argument has been drawn for the Eastern origin of that Book.

What, then, is the ultimate result at which we have arrived? The ultimate result appears to me to be two-fold. Firstly, the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel is the Aramaic of a district lying well to the north and east of Palestine. The philological evidence, taken along with tradition, would lead us to call it the Eastern Aramaic. But since it was spoken at Damascus and Haran, it may be safer to call it the Pure Aramaic. Secondly—and this is a point of infinitely greater importance—the dialect of the Book of Daniel, though it tells us nothing as to the age of that Book, is seen to be no longer a bar to its having been written by the prophet himself. This is the great obstacle that I have sought to remove. For how can a Christian believe that a Book, treated with such special reverence by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, is nothing better than a Jewish Apocalypse!

If, then, any help has been given me by Almighty God in this endeavour, I render to Him my most humble and hearty thanks. For—to strike a personal note—I seem to myself like a traveller, who late in the season, aye, and

late in life, has struggled over some Alpine pass. With slow and toilsome steps I have clambered up the steeps of Difficulty, and have come through places well-nigh blocked by the fast-drifting snows of Adverse Criticism. Now, if I have got safely over the pass—of which indeed others must be left to judge—then I wish to say that it is not my doing. Again and again, the way has been opened for me by an Unseen Hand ; so that henceforth my motto must be the words of the old Roman poet,

“Quo via per montes dicit *aperta* pedem.”

ADDENDA

On p. 103 (3), writing on the frequent use of **ל** in the Book of Daniel to express the direct object, Rowley remarks, "It is again to be observed that while **ל** is used to express the direct object occasionally in early inscriptions and the earlier Papyri, it appears more frequently in the later Papyri, and very much more frequently in Daniel, where the occurrences are some two score in number." It is perfectly true that **ל** is only once so used in the three Zinjirli inscriptions, and not at all in the Hamath inscription and the two short inscriptions from Nerab. At Elephantine it is used very sparsely, viz. in Nos. 7.5,9 (461 B.C.) : 13.2,5 (447 B.C.) : 15.23 (441 B.C.) : 16.2 (435 B.C.) : 27.23 (ca. 410 B.C.) : and also in 5.9 (471 B.C.), apparently overlooked by Rowley. The increasing frequency of which he speaks, I have been unable to detect. In the Ahikar Papyri, found at Elephantine, undated, and extending over some 200 lines—in part indeed illegible—Rowley cites only one instance. The very frequent occurrence of this construction in the Book of Daniel must be looked upon as a feature of the author's literary style; and we see no reason why Daniel should not have a style of his own.

On p. 103 (4) Rowley observes, "The Preposition **ל** precedes the name of the king (or reign) in dates in Biblical Aramaic, Nabatean, and Sinaitic, but not in Babylonian, Lydian, or Egyptian Aramaic, save once in the last named." Quite so: but the one exception is No. 1.1 (495 B.C.), the earliest of the Elephantine Papyri, and the only one in which the name "Darius" is spelt דָרְיוֹשׁ as in the Book of Daniel. If this usage occurs once in a papyrus of 495 B.C., may it not occur once, viz. in Dan. vii. 1, in the Aramaic

portion of a prophetic Book, seemingly written near the end of the reign of Cyrus? *

On p. 107 occurs the following very perplexing remark, " Nevertheless, it is extremely difficult to feel that Daniel's very common use of ' to mark the direct object, for instance, could be more than a century older than the oldest of the Papyri," etc. I confess I do not understand this remark. The oldest of the Papyri, according to the date given, was written in 495 B.C. The Book of Daniel, as just suggested, was probably written some forty years earlier, whereas Rowley speaks of " more than a century." In the next paragraph he observes, " Much more embarrassing to the theory of the early origin of the Book of Daniel, however, are the differences between Daniel and the Papyri in points (4) and (7)." To this I would answer that if we once admit that in the more frequent adoption of a grammatical construction, known to be in use in his day, Daniel may be allowed to have a style of his own, all the imaginary embarrassment at once disappears.

On p. 104 (5) we meet with the observation, " In the Aramaic of Lydia, Babylon, the Papyri, and the Nabatean inscriptions, the word **מלך**, when in opposition with the name of the sovereign, uniformly follows the Proper name. In Ezra, too, the same order is regularly followed. In Daniel, however, while in many cases this order is observed, in several cases the order is reversed." In commenting on the above I would say that the order of the words is not, I think, due to prevailing usage or to individual taste. " Nebuchadnezzar the king" is the more stately and formal style. It emphasizes the royal power and majesty of the sovereign. For this reason we find it used throughout Dan. iii. It is used also in the humble address of the presidents and satraps who were plotting the death of Daniel : " Darius the king, live for ever," chap. vi. 6 : so runs the order of the words in the original, compare chap. iii. 9. It is the official title,

* Cf. Dan. i. 21, vi. 28, and x. 1. Cyrus was king of Babylon only for the last seven years of his reign.

and therefore we meet with it in royal proclamations. See chap. iv. 1 (Heb. iii. 31), and vi. 25 (Heb. 26), and compare the legal documents found at Elephantine. In Dan. iv. 31 (Heb. 28) it emphasizes the humbling of the great king of Babylon; but in the same chapter the troubled monarch, anxious as to the meaning of his alarming vision, adopts the less emphatic order, as indeed he would naturally do when speaking about himself: "This dream I king Nebuchadnezzar have seen," etc. This order is also suited to intimate conversation: see chaps. ii. 28, and v. 11. It is no less suited to simple narrative: see chaps. ii. 46, v. 9, and vi. 9 (Heb. 10). On p. 106 Rowley says, "the use in Daniel of מלך before the name," i.e. of the king, "is unparalleled in the Papyri." Yes! for the very good reason that there are no passages in the Papyri answering to the description of the six just given. In the Book of Ezra we find the first order used throughout, because the references to the king are of an historical or official character, and point to the monarch named as seated at that time on the throne of Persia.

On pp. 104-5 (6) the writer remarks on the position of the Demonstratives **הנה**, **הרא**, **אללה** or **אלין**. I think the Demonstrative when put first is emphatic. Compare Dan. iv. 18 (Heb. 15), "this dream," this startling dream; and ii. 44, "consume all these kingdoms," i.e. all these great kingdoms; also vii. 17, "these great beasts," so terrible, so powerful! The order in Ezra v. 4, I cannot explain, but in verse 15 following "take these vessels" means "take these sacred vessels, which were removed from the temple at Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar," etc. Similarly in the Papyri, No. 13.7, "This house I give to you," the pronoun is emphatic, and therefore stands first. Compare line 12 following: "this document," i.e. as the context shows, "this document, and none other, shall be valid." In line 17, where there is no emphasis, the Demonstrative stands second.

NOTE I

Dadda-'idri, i.e. Hadad-ezer, has been identified by Schrader with Benhadad II, the contemporary of Ahab.* No doubt Schrader was helped to this identification by the fact that in the annals of Shalmaneser III Hazael succeeds Dadda-'idri as king at Damascus, while in the O.T. he succeeds Benhadad. It follows, therefore, that the full name of this king must have been Ben-Hadad-ezer "the son of Hadad is a helper." Compare the abbreviated name of an Arab sheikh found in the annals of Ashurbanipal, Bir-Dadda, i.e. Ben-Hadad. Apparently, then, the son of Hadad was a god as well as Hadad himself. It is possible, however, to find another explanation, as follows. Hadad, the Air-god, had a second name, Ramman or Rimmon. In the story of Naaman the chief god of the Syrians is called Rimmon (2 Kings v. 18). In the valley of Megiddo there was a place which bore the name Hadad-Rimmon "Hadad is Rimmon" (Zech. xii. 11), and in the palace of Ashurbanipal we meet with an official called Rimani-Adad "Rimmon is Hadad." Both these names describe the god of the Syrians as the Thunderer. In the Babylonian account of the Deluge we read,

"There went up from the horizon a dark cloud;
Adad in the midst of it thundered,"

where the word "thundered" is the Ifte 'al conjugation of the verb *ramamu*, from which the name Ramman is a derivative. Hadad has a similar derivation. It comes from a root which in Arabic signifies "to crash," and which has a derivative noun signifying "thunder." But Hadad was not only Ramman the Thunderer: he was also Barqu the Lightener.† Now there was a town near Joppa called Bene-berak ‡—the modern Ibn Abrak—a name which means

* Schrader. *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O. T.*, pp. 190-91.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 196-97.

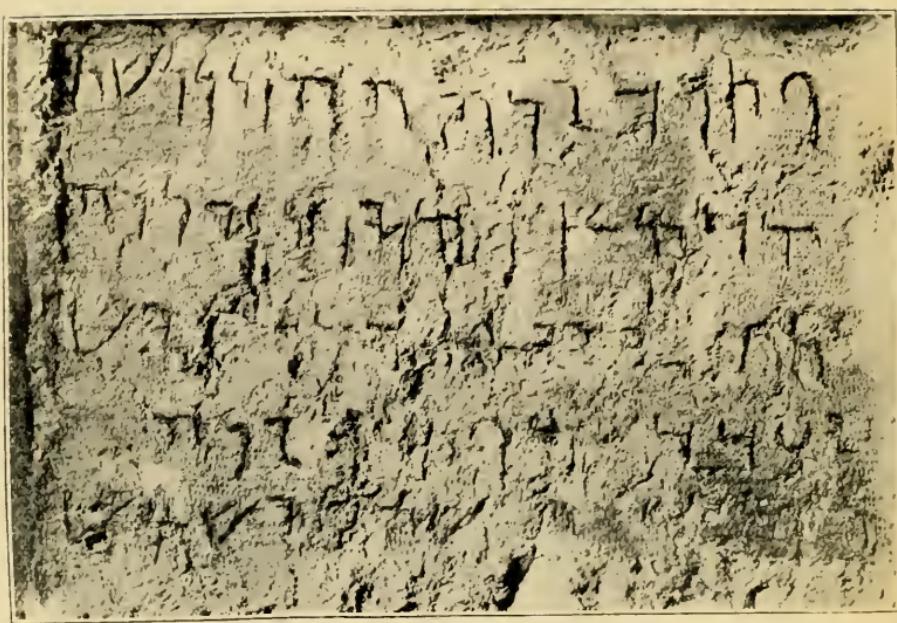
‡ Josh. xix. 45.

"the sons of lightning," i.e. "the lighteners." In the same way Ben-Hadad "the son of thunder" is equivalent to "the thunderer." Compare the name given by our Saviour to His apostles James and John, "Boanerges," i.e. בָנֵי־גּוֹשׁ "the sons of thunder," where the Genitive is one of characteristic. According to this explanation Hadad and Ben-Hadad have much the same meaning.

NOTE II

In my work on the Book of Daniel I have given some reasons for thinking that Darius the Mede was Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, who, as shown by the contract tablets, was styled "king of Babylon" for about nine months in the first year of Cyrus after the capture of that city. A crucial point in the argument is the age of Darius. If, as seems not unlikely, numbers were expressed by letters of the alphabet as early as the fifth century B.C., then 62 would be written בּבּ; and this, as I have striven to show, might very easily be a corruption of בּ=12—a very likely age for Cambyses at that time, if, as Ctesias tells us, Amytis, the daughter of Astyages, was his mother.

How easily a carelessly made ' might be mistaken for a בּ, is exhibited in the photograph and facsimile of an inscription by Prof. Torrey, given in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* for December, 1917, and here by kind permission re-produced. This inscription, brought to America by an Armenian merchant, is on a block of stone said to have been cut out of the rock above the river Cydnus about fifteen miles north-east of Tarsus. The letters measure from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches in height. They have been incised and then filled in with red paint. Describing his copy of the inscription, Torrey says, "In the accompanying facsimile drawing, made from the stone itself, I have attempted to indicate the relative distinctness of the remaining letters



אֲלֹהִים
בְּנֵי
בְּנֵי
בְּנֵי
בְּנֵי
בְּנֵי

ARAMAIC INSCRIPTION FROM THE BANKS OF THE CYDNAS WITH
A FACSIMILE BY PROF. TORREY.

or portions of letters. Solid black means that both incision and paint are plainly to be seen. The partly shaded portions are those in which either the painting or the incised line is unmistakably clear, but not both. Where the drawing is in outline, only ambiguous traces, or no traces at all, can be seen. It is perhaps needless to remark that some of the lines and furrows, which in the photograph look like plain marks of the engraver's tool, are not such in reality." If the reader, thus fully instructed, will compare the carelessly made Yod near the end of the third line with the Samech in the name אדרסן, he will see how closely the two letters resemble each other, and how a Yod carelessly written might very easily be mistaken for a Samech. He will also not fail to notice the indication of another carelessly made Yod in the same line. The remaining three Yods are correctly formed. The inscription, as transcribed by Prof. Torrey in modern Hebrew characters, and translated, reads thus:—

הַכָּר זֶה הַקְמָנָשָׁת
קָרְם אֲדֻרְסָנוֹן גָּנְכָה
גָּמְשִׁי וַיְלָה וּמָן בֵּישָׁ
יַעֲבָר עַם הַכָּר זֶה
דִּיבָעָה לָה שָׁהָר וְשָׁמָשָׁ

This image NNST erected
before ADRSWN, because he protected
my spirit, which is his. Whoever evil
does to this image,
Sahar and Shamash will require it of him.

With regard to the epigraphy of the inscription Torrey makes the following remark: "Of the inscriptions hitherto published, those most nearly resembling ours in the forms of the characters used are the Memphis inscription, CIS * II, 122, dated 482 B.C., the Teima stele CIS II, 113, belonging to the fifth century, and the Cilician hunting inscription, † Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, Plate XXVI, 3, probably also dating from the fifth century."

* *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.*

† G. A. Cooke, p. 194.

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